

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 028801
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
USIA-06 IO-13 HA-05 EUR-12 AID-05 EB-08 /100 R

DRAFTED BY AF/S:DKPETTERSON:RCB
APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY
S/S:FWISNER
AF: ;DMONDSON
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
INFO AMCONSUL DURBAN
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 028801

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY, LONDON FOR ASST SECRETARY MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, SF, US

SUBJECT: DONALD WOODS MEETS WITH SECRETARY VANCE

1. SUMMARY: DURING ONE-HOUR TALK WITH THE SECRETARY AT THE DEPARTMENT FEBRUARY 1, DONALD WOODS STRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT THE US SHOULD TAKE SOME "PRACTICAL STEP" AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA TO MATCH OUR STATED OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID. ONLY BY SUCH ACTION COULD WE CONVEY CLEARLY TO VORSTER, AND TO YOUNG SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS AS WELL, THAT WE ARE INDEED SERIOUS. ACCORDING TO WOODS, BLACKS APPRECIATE THE APPROACH TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA TAKEN BY CONFIDENTIAL

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THIS ADMINISTRATION IN CONTRAST TO THAT OF THE PREVIOUS TWO ADMINISTRATIONS. HOWEVER, THEY CONTINUE TO VIEW THE US AND THE REST OF THE WEST AS ACTING IN SUPPORT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. EVENTUALLY THESE YOUNG BLACKS WILL BE RUNNING THE COUNTRY. AS OF NOW, THEY REGARD COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AS CLEARLY ON THEIR SIDE. AS FOR VORSTER, HE AND OTHER WHITE LEADERS ARE INSULATED FROM THE REALITIES OF BLACK POLITICS AND IN FACT DO NOT WANT TO HEAR WHAT THE YOUNG BLACKS ARE SAYING. THIS PORTENDS AN EVENTUAL RACIAL CONFRONTATION. THE SECRETARY

WAS GRATEFUL FOR OPPORTUNITY TO HEAR WOODS' VIEWS. HE SAID HE WOULD BEAR IN MIND WOODS' OFFER TO ARRANGE TALKS WITH OTHER SOUTH AFRICAN EXPATRIATE JOURNALISTS.

THE ADMINISTRATION FACES THE PROSPECT OF MAKING SOME VERY TOUGH DECISIONS ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA IN THE MONTHS TO COME AND WOULD WELCOME THE CHANCE TO TALK TO KNOWLEDGE-ABLE SOUTH AFRICANS LIKE WOODS AND HIS ASSOCIATES.
END SUMMARY.

2. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT HE AND MR. WOODS HAD MANY SHARED VIEWS REGARDING THE ERADICATION OF APARTHEID. HE ASKED WOODS TO COMMENT ON EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE COURSE THEY ARE LIKELY TO TAKE IN THE FUTURE. IN RESPONSE WOODS STATED THAT WHITES REALLY DO NOT KNOW HOW SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS FEEL. WHITE LEADERS LIKE VORSTER ARE "COCOONED OFF" FROM THE BLACKS. BECAUSE THESE YOUNG PEOPLE ARE NOT ONLY OPPOSED TO APARTHEID BUT ALSO BELIEVE THAT SOCIALISM OFFERS MORE FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE PRETORIA GOVERNMENT IS TOTALLY DISINCLINED TO TALK WITH THEM. YOUNG BLACKS ARE NOT DEEP-DYED MARXISTS AND SOME ARE AWARE OF SOVIET CYNICISM, BUT BECAUSE BLACK LIBERATION
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MOVEMENTS ARE SUPPORTED IN PRACTICAL TERMS BY THE EAST, AND RECEIVE LITTLE MORE THAN RHETORIC FROM THE WEST, THEY "ARE LOOKING EASTWARD IN THEIR LOYALTIES AND SYMPATHIES." ALTHOUGH YOUNG BLACKS RECOGNIZE AND APPRECIATE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S DIFFERENT APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICA, BECAUSE THE US HAS DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS INVESTMENTS IN THE COUNTRY, THE US IS SEEN AS SUPPORTING APARTHEID.

3. WOODS SAID THAT IN VIEW OF THE IMPORTANT ROLE YOUNG BLACKS WILL PLAY IN THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA, HE HOPED THAT IN SOME PRACTICAL WAY THE US COULD TAKE SOME STEP, "NOT A TOTAL BREAK," WHICH WOULD DEMONSTRATE TO BLACKS AND TO VORSTER THAT WE ARE SERIOUS IN WHAT WE HAVE BEEN SAYING ABOUT APARTHEID AND REPRESSION IN SOUTH AFRICA. RESPONDING TO THE SECRETARY'S QUESTION WHETHER HE HAD ANYTHING SPECIFIC IN MIND, WOODS SAID THAT ENDING EXIM BANK FACILITIES TO SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE A SUITABLE MEASURE. WOODS SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT SOME DOLS 2 BILLION OF OUTSTANDING EXIM GUARANTEES HAD BEEN EXTENDED TO SOUTH AFRICA. AF/S DIRECTOR CORRECTED HIM, POINTING OUT THAT THE CORRECT FIGURE WAS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF DOLS 200 MILLION. THE SECRETARY NOTED

THAT IN RECENT MONTHS EXIM, BECAUSE OF THE POLITICAL/ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA, HAD CEASED EXTENDING

LARGE GUARANTEES AND INSURANCE FOR LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA.

4. THE SECRETARY SAID HE THOUGHT ACTION ALONG THE LINE OF ENDING GOVERNMENT CREDITS OR GUARANTEES TO SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE MOST EFFECTIVE IF IT WERE TAKEN ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS. HOWEVER, OTHER COUNTRIES WERE NOT PREPARED TO DO THIS. WOODS SAID HE HAD
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TALKED TO DAVID OWEN, WHO INDICATED TO HIM THAT THE UK MIGHT DO THIS IF OTHERS WOULD TAKE THE LEAD. THE SECRETARY OBSERVED, HOWEVER, THAT OWEN HAD INDICATED CLEARLY TO HIM THAT THE UK COULD NOT TAKE SUCH A STEP AT THIS TIME.

5. WOODS STATED THAT IT WAS NOT NECESSARY THAT A "SYMBOLIC STEP" BY THE US BE OF AN ECONOMIC NATURE. WHATEVER WE DO, IT SHOULD BE SOMETHING THAT WOULD ALTER VORSTER'S BELIEF THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOT SERIOUS AND REALLY WILL NOT DO ANYTHING OF CONSEQUENCE IN RELATION TO SOUTH AFRICA. VORSTER, WOODS SAID, REGARDS THE POLICIES OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AS NOT REFLECTIVE OF THE WILL OF THE US PEOPLE AND THE CONGRESS. THE SECRETARY RECALLED THAT PIK BOTHA AND OTHER SOUTH AFRICANS HAD TRIED TO TALK OVER THE HEAD OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. HE THOUGHT THE SOUTH AFRICANS WERE MAKING A SERIOUS MISTAKE IN THEIR EVALUATION OF THE PUBLIC WILL AND IN THEIR ASSESSMENT THAT THE US GOVERNMENT WAS NOT PREPARED TO ACT. WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO TAKE STEPS TO PUSH VORSTER IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION AND HOPE THAT THE MEANS WE HAVE CHOSEN IS THE MOST CONSTRUCTIVE WAY TO DO THIS. APPARENTLY, HOWEVER, THE HIGHLY NEGATIVE REACTION OF VORSTER IS MORE THAN ELECTION CAMPAIGN RHETORIC.

6. PICKING UP ON THIS, WOODS EXPRESSED HIS DISCOURAGEMENT THAT PIET KOORNHOFF IS NOT CARRYING MORE WEIGHT IN THE CABINET. THE RECENT CABINET RESHUFFLE WAS "A BAD STEP BACKWARD." CONNIE MULDER, ALTHOUGH IN PRIVATE "AS CYNICAL AS ANYONE," HAS TAILORED HIS PUBLIC IMAGE TO VORSTER'S AND TO NATIONAL PARTY POLICY. PIK BOTHA IS INTELLIGENT ENOUGH TO KNOW THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S
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POLICY "IS CRAZY." HOWEVER, BOTHA IS "PLAYING THE POWER GAME" AND WILL NOT DEVIATE FROM THE PARTY LINE REGARDING NO POWER SHARING WITH BLACKS. HE, KOORNHOOF, AND S.P. BOTHA ARE AWARE OF THE NEED FOR CHANGE AND

MIGHT DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT, BUT THEY REPRESENT ONLY SOME FIVE PERCENT OF NATIONAL PARTY MEMBERS. THOSE WHO ARE LEADING SOUTH AFRICA UNFORTUNATELY ARE PRISONERS OF THEIR OWN THINKING OVER THE YEARS.

7. ASKED HOW THE WHITE LEADERSHIP CAN MOVE AWAY FROM THEIR IDEOLOGICAL TRAP, WOODS REPLIED THAT IT WOULD DO SO ONLY UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE WEST. THE AVERAGE SOUTH AFRICAN WHITE STILL SEES HIS COUNTRY AS PART OF THE WESTERN WORLD, AND IS AWARE THAT THE WEST IS HIGHLY AVERSE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN SYSTEM. CONSEQUENTLY MANIFEST WESTERN OPPOSITION, THROUGH SOME PRACTICAL STEPS, WOULD HAVE AN IMPORTANT EFFECT ON WHITE PUBLIC OPINION.

8. WOODS WENT ON TO SAY THAT VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA IS INEVITABLE UNLESS THE WEST WILL TAKE MEASURES TO COMPEL THE VORSTER GOVERNMENT TO BEGIN TO TALK TO THE TRUE LEADERS OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA. BUT EVEN IF THE WEST SOON BEGINS TO APPLY MEANINGFUL PRESSURES, HE FEARS THAT THE POINT OF NO RETURN MAY HAVE BEEN REACHED. ONCE "ONE WHITE CHILD IS KILLED AS A RESULT OF RACIAL VIOLENCE," EFFORTS FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE WILL BE OVERTAKEN BY A "REPRISAL MENTALITY." UNFORTUNATELY, WHITES CLING TO THE IDEA THAT IF A RACE WAR AND CONSEQUENT SOVIET INVOLVEMENT COME TO SOUTH AFRICA, THE WEST WILL COME TO THE ASSISTANCE OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS. AGAIN, WHITES, EVEN A MAN LIKE ALAN PATON, DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT YOUNG BLACKS ARE SAYING AND CANNOT CONCEIVE OF A NON-RACIAL SOCIETY. THERE ARE SOME DYNAMIC FIGURES AMONG THE WHITE OPPOSITION, E.G., VAN ZYL SLABBERT, BUT POSITIVE CHANGE WILL TAKE PLACE ONLY
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IF THE NATIONAL PARTY ITSELF UNDERGOES A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN ATTITUDE. WOODS VOICED HIS FEAR THAT BECAUSE WHITES IN GENERAL ARE UNAWARE OF THE FERMENT AMONG YOUNG BLACKS, AND THAT THE LEADERSHIP IN PARTICULAR SIMPLY REFUSES TO LISTEN TO THEM, WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE WILL RECUR IN SOUTH AFRICA. THERE COULD BE TROUBLE NEXT OCTOBER, WHEN THE STUDENTS SIT FOR THEIR EXAMINATIONS. IN ANY EVENT, ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT LIKE TO MAKE PREDICTIONS, PERVASIVE VIOLENCE IS LIKELY WITHIN THREE YEARS. WHEN IT COMES, IT WILL NOT, AS IT WAS IN THE PAST YEAR, BE CONFINED BY AND LARGE TO THE TOWNSHIPS. NEXT TIME THE BLACKS "WILL WANT TO BRING IT TO THE WHITE AREAS."

9. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT IN HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH PIK BOTHA HE HAS GOTTEN THE DISTINCT IMPRESSION THAT BOTHA SIMPLY WILL NOT "THINK THE UNTHINKABLE." THIS KIND OF MENTALITY, THE UNWILLINGNESS TO FACE REALITIES,

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ADMIRERS. WHAT MR WOODS HAS BEEN SAYING ABOUT SOUTH
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ORIGIN IO-14

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APPROVED BY:IO/UNA:JFTEFFT

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INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 028801

FROM UNA

FOL STATE 028801 SENT ACTION CAPE TOWN INFO DURBAN
JOHANNESBURG PRETORIA LONDON FEB 3, 1978 REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 028801

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY, LONDON FOR ASST SECRETARY MOOSE

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Draft Date: 03 feb 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
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Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
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Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780051-1293
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197802120/baaafbsl.tel
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Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
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Office: ORIGIN AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
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Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3474803
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> gwr 970813
Subject: DONALD WOODS MEETS WITH SECRETARY VANCE
TAGS: PEPR, SF, US, PEPR, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (WOODS, DONALD)
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Type: TE
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